

# THE WORLD

# TOMORROW

*Is  
Peaceful Revolution  
Possible?*

NORMAN THOMAS

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*The Imperial  
Enigmatic Conference*

T. W. L. MacDERMOT

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*Socialism versus  
Communism*  
KIRBY PAGE

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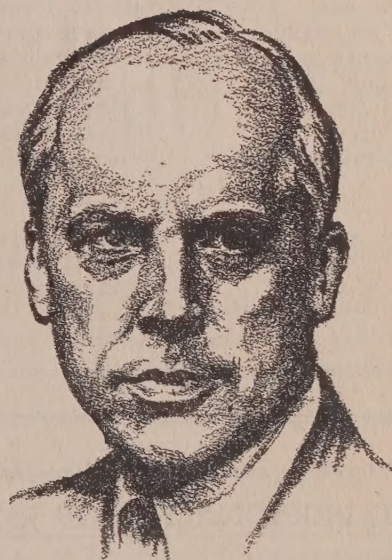
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SEPTEMBER 14th

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"Each month and year that passes makes the probable cost of large scale violence more dreadful and its outcome for good more uncertain. . . . Until mankind is capable of achieving peaceful revolution no revolution will be genuinely secure."

H.N.  
**Brailsford** ON  
the **I.L.P.**  
**secedes**



# The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV

SEPTEMBER 14, 1932

No. 9

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Published on Wednesday of each week at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue  
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 10 cents; \$3 per year; Canada, \$3.50; foreign, \$3.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 14s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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## The Campaign Warms Up

The campaign is in full swing. Mr. Hoover's acceptance speech was a rather more telling defense of pure conservatism than we expected from him. He prides himself upon having conquered the depression without having sacrificed any of the glorious American heritages or amended any of the sacred American principles. It will convince all classes who are comfortable enough to indulge the illusion that the depression is really over. Needless to say, the President made no confession of the innumerable instances in which he tried to hide his previous errors and to prevent adequate social legislation by promising the quick return of prosperity. His acceptance speech merely gathers all those futile promises together in one final grandiose promise of future bliss. It will not deceive anyone except those who want to be deceived; but for them it performs the job very well.

Mr. Roosevelt's answer to Mr. Hoover was a competent bit of negative campaigning. It tore the cover off of the Republican pretensions in effective style and committed the Democratic Party to the cause of espousing economic discontent in a more definite fashion than we had expected of Mr. Roosevelt. He seems more willing to risk the loss of contributions from Wall Street for his campaign than we had thought. It is obvious, however, that he is more anxious to capitalize economic discontent than he is able to prescribe effective means for the elimination of economic injustice. His proposals for the regulation of the sale of securities and his other, similar policies do not deal very adequately with the plight of his "forgotten man." We wonder whether, with an even less definite program than Mr. Bryan had in 1896, he will be able to do any better than Mr. Bryan did, particularly if the Republicans should be able to manipulate the market long enough to give the people the illusion of returning prosperity.

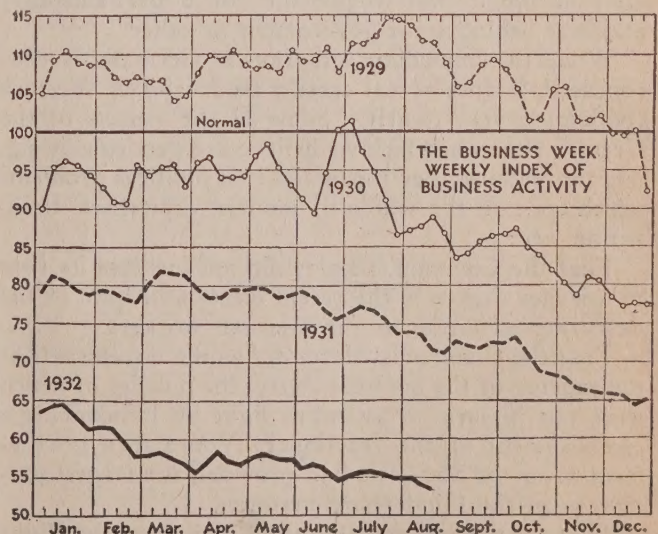
As we anticipated, the poor liberals are running around in circles trying to decide whether Mr. Hoover or Mr. Roosevelt is the greater foe of liberalism. One liberal thinks we all ought to vote for Mr. Hoover because Mr. Stimson's foreign policy is more enlightened and the President's disarmament proposals at Geneva are more daring than anything we can expect from the Democrats. Another liberal wants to vote for Hoover because he regards Roosevelt's liberalism as dishonest and prefers "honest" conservatism. Most of the liberals are for Mr. Roosevelt, however. They take courage and

see the dawn of a new era every time Mr. Roosevelt puts his tongue out in defiance of what his fifth cousin used to call the "malefactors of great wealth."

Meanwhile, the Socialist campaign is gaining momentum, and there is a possibility that Norman Thomas will garner around two million votes. The whole question will be to what degree this vote will be merely "a protest vote" and to what degree it will lay the foundations for a strong socialistic movement in this country. We are afraid that some Socialists assume, a little too naïvely, that a large vote will automatically create a socialist movement. The experience of an industrial civilization is bound to produce socialism; but the educational methods used in interpreting that experience will hasten or retard the inevitable. For Socialists political campaigns are merely opportunities for political and social education. It is therefore of no particular moment whether this or that bigwig expresses sympathy or admiration for a Socialist candidate. The question is to what degree we can gain a wider recognition of the basic defects of the capitalistic system, the futility of surface reforms and the necessity of socialism.

One of the rather ominous aspects of the campaign is that the more depressed and the more intel-

## Beware of Political Propaganda!



### A New Low Level

The above chart prepared by *The Business Week*, is compiled from 8 series of weekly figures—steel mill operations, building contracts, bituminous coal production, electric power output, non-bulk carloadings, check payments outside New York, commercial loans of reporting Federal Reserve member banks, and currency in circulation.



ligent sections of the middle classes are turning to socialism more readily than the workers. It is not that we do not welcome this middle class support. THE WORLD TOMORROW is a middle class journal, devoted to the propagation of socialism and radicalism among middle class "intellectuals" and religiously motivated people. But we know that the root of the socialist movement must be in the life of the industrial worker. If the campaign should fail to gain the support of the worker, it will mean that the socialist movement has not yet taken real root in America. If there are tendencies in this direction, we attribute them less to any defects in the socialist approach than to the political ignorance of American workers. We leave the criticism of socialist policies to those liberal journals which four years ago supported Al Smith and now toy with communism as a more adequate alternative to Al than socialism.

### A Little Light in Great Darkness

It is not yet certain as we go to press whether Germany is to be governed for the next few months by the Hitlerites with the aid of the Catholic Party or whether the Von Papen government will continue to operate by the authority of presidential decrees while another parliamentary election is called. Neither alternative offers hope of lasting stability. The Nazi-Catholic combination is precarious even if it should succeed in establishing a government. The differences between the two parties is too profound and the animosities between them of too long standing to make collaboration easy. A "presidential" cabinet can govern constitutionally only if each succeeding Reichstag election should fail to provide for a parliamentary majority behind some government or other.

While the immediate situation in Germany is very confused, it does reveal certain tendencies in Western civilization very clearly. Some of the aspects of the German situation which we believe are particularly significant, because they throw light on political problems which concern the whole of modern capitalistic civilization, are:

That the Communist Party did not increase its vote to a larger degree in the recent election in spite of the desperate condition of the German workers.

That the Communist Party did gain a dozen seats at the expense of the Socialist Party, the policies of which were put in such an awkward light by Hindenburg's establishment of the reactionary Von Papen government after the Socialists had provided the largest percentage of the Hindenburg majority.

That the possibilities of a revolution from the Right have become practically nil. Either Hitler will enter a coalition government or he will be under the necessity of fulminating futilely against the Von Papen government, which is ready to use troops against his

Brown Shirts. The possibility of a successful *coup d'etat* seems no longer to exist.

That the combined vote of the Socialists and Communists is only 36 per cent of the total electorate and that in the most highly industrialized nation, with the most radical electorate, the radical parties should not be able to muster as strong a vote as the reactionaries who have 44 per cent of the vote.

That neither a combination of radicals or a combination of reactionaries can command a clear parliamentary majority, giving the balance of parliamentary power into the hands of small parties, of which the Catholic Party is the chief. This is important because it proves how difficult it is to solve the social problems of modern civilization by either parliamentary or revolutionary change. Neither the one method nor the other opens a clear road to a stable society.

That the Socialists and Communists are gradually forming a united front and that some kind of common action may be expected from them if pressure from the Right continues unabated.

That there is in the nation a powerful and almost instinctive abhorrence of social convulsion. This temper is the chief support for the substitution of government by presidential decree for parliamentary government. Germany may finally go over the abyss of revolution; but this will not happen until every other solution has been tried. The will to live of a modern national community is tenacious indeed. Revolutions are not as easy as romantic liberals who are tired of the seemingly futile political struggle seem to imagine.

### Prohibition and the Moral Vote

The drys who regard prohibition as the most vital political issue now find themselves in a painful position. National prohibition has been repudiated by the three candidates—Republican, Democratic, and Socialist. Since the G. O. P. has in these latter years received the enthusiastic support of most drys, it is important to realize how completely President Hoover has abandoned prohibition as a national policy. Here are his exact words:

It is my belief that in order to remedy present evils a change is necessary. . . . It is my conviction that the nature of this change, and one upon which all reasonable people can find common ground, is that each State shall be given the right to deal with the problem as it may determine. . . .

True enough the President is strongly against the return of the saloon and promises to protect dry regions from their wet neighbors. But he cites no evidence and advances no arguments to show that under state prohibition this will be possible. Indeed, the evidence is overwhelmingly to the contrary.

That the President has attempted to scuttle the ship of national prohibition is realized by many of its outstanding advocates, although numerous influential



dry Republicans are now campaigning for the President as the lesser of two evils. In commenting upon Mr. Hoover's acceptance speech, Reverend James K. Shields, superintendent of the New Jersey Anti-Saloon League, says: "It is terribly disappointing. . . . Now Mr. Hoover is running on a platform nearly the same as Al Smith ran on. . . ." Bishop Richardson, national president of the Anti-Saloon League, confesses: "I am greatly disappointed. . . . It seems to me almost childish to say that since one plan has not been able to be enforced successfully, forty-eight plans will succeed of enforcement." Dr. Clarence True Wilson, of the Methodist Board of Prohibition, declares that the President's address will not meet with the "moral conditions of the dries, who elected him by a majority of millions four years ago." *The Christian Century* has been so consistently and passionately dry that in the past three campaigns it successively supported Mr. Harding, Mr. Coolidge, and Mr. Hoover. Yet it now says that the President's acceptance speech "makes it difficult for defenders of the Eighteenth Amendment to wax enthusiastic over his candidacy. They are now in much the same position as Senator Borah—they cannot support Mr. Hoover 'on this platform'." This journal goes on to say that if the dries elect Mr. Hoover, "they help to swell a popular presumption against the retention of the Eighteenth Amendment." *The Congregationalist* exclaims editorially: "It is a topsy-turvy world when in almost adjacent columns of one's daily paper one finds the 'dry' Dan Poling and his Allied Forces and the dripping 'wet' Crusaders alike reported as supporting President Hoover, the one group for 'dry' reasons, and the other for 'wet' reasons." While the words of Senator Hebert of Rhode Island scream from the headlines of the *Boston Herald*: "President's Wet Stand Will Win N. E."

The actual and practical difference on prohibition between the Republican and the Democratic candidates is so slight that the subordination of other extremely vital problems by the dries would seem to us the height of folly. For years the religious forces of the country have regarded prohibition as *the* moral issue to which all other political questions must be subordinated, with the result that the most reactionary of our political parties has received the votes and prayers of a vast majority of church members.

The editors of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* are convinced that economic and international issues are paramount in the presidential campaign and should determine the "moral" vote of the country. With regard to these questions the Socialist candidate stands in striking contrast to his opponents, and the most significant political victory that could be won by the religious people of the nation this year would be the polling of several million votes for Norman Thomas. After the election is over, we shall return to a discussion of the various alternatives open to prohibition-

ists. We agree with *The Christian Century* that "a presidential campaign, and especially such a campaign as that of this year, is not the time or the method of coming to terms with the liquor problem." And so in the meantime we propose to devote our energies to the all-important task of undermining capitalism and swelling the incoming tide of socialism.

## Labor Learns—But Late

That the American Federation of Labor is moving slowly, almost grudgingly, to the left becomes daily more apparent. That it still exists officially in an unreal world, however, is painfully clear. The Labor Day address of President William Green at Pittsburgh is a most revealing document. There can be no doubt about the source, historically speaking, of such a socialistic sentiment as this: "We hold that wealth should be distributed widely and equitably; that the time has come when the people, through their government, must provide for the prevention of the accumulation of large fortunes and more equitable distribution of wealth." There is also something more than a mild economic liberalism in Mr. Green's richly merited rebuke to the long-lauded system of labor "partnership" through purchase of stock in the firms by which it is employed. Especially pleasing is the Federation's recent espousal of the principle, at least, of unemployment insurance.

But after all, this is only one side of the picture. Mr. Green takes pride in American labor's conservatism: "Through it all, however [that is, the depression], it has followed a constructive, traditional course. . . ." We are not able to discover the kinship between constructive measures and traditional. Mr. Green makes it abundantly plain that what he really wants is not compulsory, nation-wide, unemployment insurance of the sort that in the main has proved so successful elsewhere, but only compulsory unemployment insurance within industries—a method which will fail as inevitably to protect the workers as the partnership schemes which the head of the A. F. of L. has now learned, years too late, were in reality inimical to labor. Bold words were used to defend the railway workers against the proposed second cut of twenty per cent; but the A. F. of L.'s individualist views are helpless before the dilemma of steady losses by the roads. Nor is the labor spokesman wholly frank in attributing the sad fate of the miners entirely to "false economic policy," for assuredly one factor is the dilatory leadership of the A. F. of L. mine unions.

The Federation, according to Mr. Green, "has fearlessly and courageously offered what it believes to be remedies for the economic ills which have so sorely afflicted the nation." If this will fall as merely splendid philosophy on the ears of the 26,000 marching Illinois miners, or of the numerous strike leaders who



have received scant encouragement from the A. F. of L., it is fair to note the dawn of realism in the Federation even though as yet the morning rays are dim. It seems to be the special vice of conservative American labor leaders that they arrive too late at their important rendezvous with facts; that they postpone the agony of decision as long as possible; that their final desperate blows of protest only fall on the tail of the viper of exploitation. To be perpetually right when it is too late is to be nearly all the time wrong.

Labor is confirmed, declares Mr. Green, in its determination "to use its political and economic strength in an effort to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth and of the earnings of industry." But what can be accomplished by political indirection, by playing off Democrats and Republicans against each other, beyond the meager, indeed the all but non-existent, achievements of former campaigns? Only by organizing its vast resources to vote one way, year in and year out, for a party that stands definitely and sincerely committed to the workers' cause, can labor win political emancipation.

### Hodge-Podge of Good-Will

A familiar phenomenon of American politics is the small party of make-shift organization and make-shift philosophy which rises swiftly, captures the support of erratic humanitarians, and disappears leaving behind it additional evidence that those whose hearts beat warmly for their fellow-men are often the least straight-thinking of reformers. We know of few examples which better illustrate this American habit than the Jobless Party, founded by its presidential nominee, the Reverend Father James R. Cox, of Pittsburgh. It was Father Cox who led a band of 2,500 bonus seekers—and, in fairness be it said, unemployment relief seekers also—to Washington last winter. Of Father Cox's sincerity there can be no doubt; but regarding the futility of his program there is equal certainty. There are socialistic elements in it; for example, he urges federal "control" of banks and public utilities; he calls for tariff reciprocity and cancellation of war debts, "provided, however, that no future loans be made to foreign governments." He wants conscription of wealth, but also conscription of men in wartime; and asks for "a mighty army, navy and air forces as a guarantee of peace." Surely no voter who is politically sophisticated or at all informed on public questions is likely to find any real hope in such a conglomeration of well-meaning confusions.

It is evident that when Father Cox recently visited Mussolini and Hitler in an effort to familiarize himself with their technique of controlling masses of the voters, he imbibed not only something of their method but of their ideas as well.

### See What We Found!

Here is another one for your Oh Yeah collection. We see by the papers that the President told the bankers that "we have overcome the major financial crisis . . . and that with its relaxation confidence and hope have reappeared in the world." Past tense! We have overcome, not we are overcoming, or we hope to overcome. Moreover, confidence *has* reappeared in the world. In the world! Not in the ranks of the unemployed, or the striking miners, or the desperate farmers of Iowa.

The chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, on the same occasion, exclaimed: "We have the same resources now that we had in the past. There is but one thing that is lacking, and that is confidence." Tell it to the hungry multitudes across the country! Fried confidence for breakfast, baked confidence for luncheon, and boiled confidence for dinner!

\* \* \*

We have long maintained that militarist-imperialists possess a peculiar mentality, irrespective of nationality. And as a bit of evidence we submit this classic from a columnist in the *Army and Navy Journal* who signs himself M.I.N.I.: "Hawaii should understand that so far as the Continental United States is concerned it has only one value, that as a base for our protection. Therefore its system of roads should be laid out and constructed purely from a military and naval point of view. . . . The American people are somewhat fed up on Hawaii as a result of the Massie outrage and similar occurrences, and I advise it to watch its step, or Congress will deprive it of the territorial rights now enjoyed." And we made the world safe from Prussians of this stripe!

\* \* \*

Believe it or not: "Representatives of American commercial companies whose business will be seriously affected by the new German import duties, descended in a body upon the United States Commercial Attaché in Berlin to demand protection from their government." Protection? Protection? What about the beneficent Smoot-Hawley tariff which was hailed by the Grand Old Party as the gateway to Utopia?

\* \* \*

Now we know why so many banks have failed. After all the Communists were not to blame. Former Senator Pomerene vividly describes the suspension of a particular bank. "Its closing was due to the fact that some mischievous woman (note that it was the deadly female of the species) sat at a dial phone and called up the people throughout the city, telling them that the bank was going to close and they'd better draw their money out."



## Japan at the Crossroads

IT is just under a year since the Japanese military took the bit in their teeth and embarked on their colossally destructive and costly illustration of the ghastly folly of using force to settle international disputes. Many thousands of lives have been lost. Property to the value of hundreds of millions of dollars—probably well over a billion dollars—has been destroyed. Further hundreds of millions have been worse than squandered in keeping the soldiers at work. And, what is in many ways the greatest damage of all, shattering blows have been struck at the very foundations of international coöperation.

Instead of settling anything, this whole affair has made settlement more difficult. By working together in friendly fashion, both Japan and China would profit greatly. Only through such coöperation, in fact, is there any hope for permanent security and prosperity for Japan. The events of this past year, however, have incalculably embittered the relations between the two countries.

Both Japan and China had legitimate grievances. There were fundamental causes of conflict. For the past quarter of a century and more, the Japanese have been using money, intrigue and force to secure and hold one advanced foothold after another in Manchuria and other parts of China. The Chinese, on their part, have been wakening to national self-consciousness and to a determination to free their country from outside control or interference. In Manchuria their numbers and economic interests have been increasing rapidly and hence coming more insistently into conflict with Japanese interests there. Being in no position to use force, the Chinese have used the economic weapons in the handling of which they are past masters. The result has been the growth on both sides of a feeling of intense antagonism, which has led to one incident after another. The Japanese talk of their "patience" in the face of Chinese efforts to regain control in China. The Chinese talk of the "imperialism" of the Japanese in pushing into China. The pot and the kettle are both well sooted.

Given this situation, and on the basis of the old jungle law that might makes right, the Japanese military were within their rights in occupying Manchuria—and the Chinese are equally within their rights in using every possible means of resistance. If, moreover, no other means were available for settling such disputes, a good case might be made for what the Japanese military did.

That old jungle law has been abrogated, however, and there are other means of settlement. Those are the two inescapable facts which all the fog of Japanese talk of "self-defense," of the inability of the Chinese

to maintain order in Manchuria, of the need of Japan for the resources of Manchuria, of the alleged but non-existent desire of the Chinese in Manchuria for separation from the rest of their country, cannot hide. Japan had pledged herself to use the peace machinery which has been set up. Even the Japanese military never have claimed that there was a really serious military threat to Japan's interests in Manchuria. Japan, therefore, had ample opportunity to use the peace machinery. Her military chose not to. Had Japan laid the situation before either the League of Nations or the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty with a view to securing international support for her just claims, her position would have been unassailable. Instead, her troops moved. No amount of talk about being "misunderstood" can gloss over these simple facts.

Part of the tragedy—a large part—is that the bulk of the Japanese people, and the civilian leaders of the country, have been opposed to the use of militaristic methods in relations with China. They realized that the use of force meant, in the end, ruin for Japan.

In the end there can be no solution of this difficulty, no assurance of peace in the Far East, until the atavistic, saber-rattling military clique in Japan is smashed. The question, however, is not whether the military will keep their grip on Japan indefinitely; it is: How soon will that grip be broken, and how much more damage will be done before it is?

Complete economic collapse is near at hand in Japan already, and the Japanese military are driving the country full tilt down the hill to economic ruin. Such a collapse would end the rule of the military, but it also would be a disaster for the Japanese people and seriously injure China as well as other countries. Before the end comes, moreover, as a means of turning the minds of the people from their troubles at home, it is quite conceivable that the military will launch a grandiose campaign in the rest of China, or even so manoeuvre as to bring on a war with Russia. That is one way out—to leave Japan alone to its inevitable ruin, either before or after the military have wrought more havoc.

Another way is to persist, step by step, in the demand that Japan live up to her international obligations. Japan may withdraw from the League of Nations. But she already has put herself in the position of an international outlaw by the use of the outlawed weapon of force. Short of economic ruin, there is no way to break the hold of the military in Japan except by convincing the people that the actions of their leaders have put Japan in a position of intolerable international disgrace. When that is accomplished, the Japanese people will take their military in hand.



## The Utility Commissions Stir

IT is notorious that the various state public utility commissions have in the past woefully failed to protect the interests of the consumers of utility services or of the investors in the companies themselves. The commissions have in general not appraised the properties on any accurate basis and have permitted large profits to be made on watered stock. They have commonly refused to take the initiative either in investigating the practices of the utilities or in launching any action to check their abuses. With the exception of a few commissions, such as those in Wisconsin and California, they have thus thrown the full burden of investigation and complaint back upon the shoulders of the municipalities and of small groups of public-spirited citizens, who almost necessarily lack the means to hire the lawyers, accountants, and engineers needed to probe the enormously complicated issues involved. Moreover, in those relatively few cases where such bodies have taken action, they have been met with indifference or with hostility by the commissions themselves.

The commissions have permitted the organization and flotation of utility holding companies which have in many instances milked the operating companies themselves to the detriment of the stockholders, and which have been constructed on such an unsound financial basis that many have completely collapsed during this period of strain, leaving, as in the case of the Insull companies, a trail of devastating ruin behind them.

It is encouraging, therefore, to note signs that a few commissions at least are beginning to see the light. The Wisconsin Commission which has been revived under Governor La Follette, has, for example, recently issued two significant orders. One of these granted an emergency reduction in telephone rates of 12½ per cent on the ground that a company need not pay more than a six per cent return on common stock during the period of the present depression and should not add to its surplus in a period when business in general is operating at a deficit. The second order restrained utility companies in Wisconsin from paying dividends to their holding companies until the Commission could determine whether or not they were being milked by the companies in question.

This decision has found counterparts in other states. In Alabama the payment to holding companies has also been restrained, while in Washington the state authorities have declared that the utilities should not occupy a favored position at a time when the rest of the public is suffering so acutely. In New York the issuance of additional bonds under some-

what questionable circumstances by a Staten Island utility concern was forbidden by the Commission.

The recent disclosures in Pennsylvania indicate a possible reason why other state commissions have been slow to take action. Governor Pinchot has brought forward evidence to indicate that the late W. D. B. Ainey of the Pennsylvania Commission permitted the Pittsburgh utilities to pay hospital bills of \$3,000 for him in 1925-26, that his trip to Europe in 1927 was financed by the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, and that in the space of slightly more than five years Mr. Ainey banked more than \$185,000 of which less than \$3,000 represented salary. During this period, in fact, Mr. Ainey's salary was only \$10,500 a year. On the day before these charges were to be formally presented Mr. Ainey resigned from the Commission. Since then Governor Pinchot has declared that he has evidence to prove that former Commissioner Benn deposited \$650,000 in Philadelphia banks although his aggregate salary was only \$100,000, and it has also been brought out that former Mayor Harry A. Mackey of Philadelphia received a retainer of \$1,000 a month from the late Thomas E. Mitten, the head of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, during the time he was a member of the State Workmen's Compensation Board. This Mr. Mackey has admitted. It will be remembered that in 1926 Mr. Insull admitted before the Reed Committee that he had contributed \$125,000 to the senatorial campaign fund of Frank L. Smith, who was then Chairman of the Illinois Commission, which was the body supposedly regulating Mr. Insull's utilities. At the same time, in order to play safe, Mr. Insull gave Mr. Smith's Democratic opponent, George Brennan, \$15,000. Recently the present Illinois Commission not only refused to entertain a request by the Illinois Utility Consumers' and Investors' League that it reconsider its previous approval of a \$70,000,000 bond issue which it had ratified under what seemed indecent haste and which contained many features which were adverse to the interests of the stockholders, but spent its entire time for two days in insulting and seeking to discredit the attorneys and the officers of the League.

While we should be gratified at the indication that a few commissions are beginning to take action for protection, nevertheless, if their example is not followed by the others, even the most conservative citizens may in the not distant future be driven to conclude that the utilities will not permit effective regulation and that the only hope is for the public to take over the utility properties and thus tear out one of the tap-roots of corruption from our political life.





# as Brailsford sees it

*London, August 23, 1932*

**T**HE unity of the British Labour Party had long been the envy of the rest of the socialist world. Through a quarter of a century it grew steadily and escaped schism. It is true that a little Communist Party is in being, but we are rarely obliged to remember its existence. Within a year this remarkable unity has been shattered by splits in two opposite directions. First MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas deserted the party of which they were the most conspicuous leaders. And now the I.L.P. has gone. The main body of the Labour Party remains intact, poor in leadership, inarticulate in the press, yet with its great bulk of adherents scarcely depleted, in spite of its impotence in Parliament.

The unity was never so ideal as it seemed. The word "independent" in the Independent Labour Party's title emphasized Keir Hardie's doctrine that the workers must create a political organization defiantly distinct from every other. It was not easy to wean the workers from their faith in the Liberal Party, of which the Labour Party was in its early years hardly more than a satellite. During this period one had often to realize the baffling ambiguity of the I.L.P.'s position. It was at once the parent of the Labour Party and its habitual critic. "Independent" soon acquired a new meaning: the I.L.P. was so independent of the Labour Party that it could follow during the war a diametrically opposite policy.

The other awkward word in its title led to difficulties as troublesome. It called itself a "party." It promoted a number of candidates for Parliament who acknowledged a dual allegiance. The smaller party, though it was a federated unit within the larger, maintained a complete headquarters organization of its own, and this wasteful duplication was repeated throughout the country. Each of the two parties issued at an election and at other critical moments its program or manifesto. All this led, as the reader may imagine, to continual friction and jealousy. The Labour Party argued either that the I.L.P. had no sufficient reason for existence, or else that it should confine itself to socialist propaganda. The I.L.P. on its side enjoyed the sport of dancing like a gadfly round the bovine bulk of the Labour Party. But neither of them, until the other day, desired a split. The Labour Party knew that the zeal of the I.L.P. was indispensable to it at an election, while the I.L.P. realized that the

mass of the English workers, caring little for ideas, have a deep instinct of class solidarity, evolved through generations in the industrial struggle, which would condemn a split in the political movement only a little less sharply than it would despise desertion during a strike.

So, year in year out, this uneasy relationship continued. Its chief mischief was that the Labour Party toughened its hide and closed its ears, whenever at party conferences the I.L.P. rose, its sting unsheathed. That was unfortunate, for the I.L.P. had usually the quicker intelligence of the two, the more alert conscience and by far the more constructive sense of what a socialist policy should be. Failing to persuade, the I.L.P. isolated itself, shut the doors of its little chapel and seemed to be content if it could preach the pure but bitter word to the faithful. Never in my recollection has it ever done its proper work of leavening the Labour Party effectively.

The crisis came during the second Labour Administration. The American reader, aware of Mr. MacDonald's good work at Washington and of the wise conduct of the Foreign Office by Arthur Henderson, may not realize fully the wretchedness of the Labour Government's record at home. It is not true that its dependence on Liberal votes gravely hampered it: on the contrary, Mr. Lloyd George struggled continually to urge it into a bolder policy. The three elder statesmen, MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, had been completely absorbed by the governing class, had adopted the viewpoint of "the City" (the equivalent of your Wall Street) in finance, and had become appreciably more conservative than the abler Liberals. In private, the rank and file of the Labour Party moaned and grumbled, but in public kept unbroken discipline. The I.L.P. rebelled in the House and outside it, both by vote and speech, and won an occasional minor victory over the Government. The "machine," blind to the impending disaster, tightened up the rules of discipline, the Standing Orders which govern the conduct of members in the House. There was much to be said in theory for its attitude. A Socialist Party, fighting for its life and its ideas, must be a solid phalanx: the critics must bow to the majority when it comes to action. But in this case the I.L.P. could answer truly that official Labour, as MacDonald led it, bore no resemblance to a Socialist Party, nor did the majority control it; its doings were dictated by an aloof Premier and an "Iron Chancellor."



The strange thing is that this feud went on, stupidly, automatically, though the entire problem was transformed by the desertion of MacDonald. With a little grace and charity the quarrel might have been forgotten when the Labour Party pulled itself together and fought the last election on a note of unflinching challenge to the Money Power. But neither side showed a trace of either quality. The "machine" was the more bitter against the I.L.P. precisely because it had an uneasy conscience. The I.L.P. on its side would forget nothing. It must needs remember that throughout the financial crisis of 1931 the rest of the Labour Cabinet had been as loyal to gold and as obedient to the City's call for "economy" in the social services as MacDonald himself: they recoiled only from the final meanness of the cut in the "dole." The I.L.P. argued that these leaders, who again today talk like good Socialists, will once more forget their principles when next they sit on the Treasury Bench.

In this atmosphere the negotiations for the revision of Standing Orders were bound to fail. The Labour Party is tired of its gadfly, and knows moreover that it is no longer the power it was. James Maxton is a brilliant and unusual personality, eloquent, witty, with an instinctive gift for drama, but he lacks the habit of work and close thought, and his leadership of the I.L.P. had reduced its membership, even before the split, from nearly 60,000 to little more than 11,000. Gideon, it is true, did the same thing, and Lenin also, but so did many others whose names slipped out of history.

The I.L.P. may be right or wrong in ignoring the apparent change in the Labour Party's attitude; that matter I will reserve for a future article. The practical question is, whether, by seceding, it will hasten the effective organization of the British working class for a determined Socialist policy. To me it seems that by seceding—and it has done it with ruthless completeness—it has deprived itself of all the readier means of influencing the movement. Its voice will be absent from conferences; it cannot use the platform of the local parties; it refuses to be represented on all the committees, local and national, in which policy is shaped. If it is right in feeling little confidence in the present team of leaders, it can do nothing to replace them. It may, indeed, wage a guerilla war within the labour unions, but it will be handicapped by their deep distrust of schism. It has embarked on a task which could succeed only by a miracle. It must create a rival labour party, stronger and more numerous than the official one. It begins by reducing its own membership still further, perhaps to 7,000 or less. It is expelling most of its senior and more influential members, including all who sit with the Labour Party on municipal councils. With this shrunken following, it must face the Labour Party with its 600,000 members, and the three millions of the labour unions.

How will it differentiate itself from the Labour Party? It can talk about the shameful doings of 1930—a stale subject. It can use revolutionary phraseology, as very vaguely it is doing. It can talk of the glories of Russia. But the further it moves on these lines, the more does it expose itself to the retort that its proper place is in the Communist ranks, and the harder does it become to reconcile its somewhat ambiguous revolutionary language with its professed pacifism. My own conviction is that its present adventure is an unqualified silliness, which after the first splash of publicity will reduce it to impotence. It may, however, work untold harm on the Labour movement in its hour of adversity. Dejected and puzzled by the desertion on the Right, the simple minded voter must now face the secession on the Left. Whom can he trust? Listening to recriminations from three rival camps, will he not envy the deaf, and go home to dig his garden?

*H. N. Brailsford*

### Beauty—Modern Era



*Drawing by Albert Daenens*



# Is Peaceful Revolution Possible?

NORMAN THOMAS

THIS article is written hastily in the midst of an absorbing and very crowded political campaign but it is not a campaign speech reduced to written form or even a campaign article specifically. It is first of all a welcome to THE WORLD TOMORROW into the weekly field and a double welcome because THE WORLD TOMORROW is categorically and avowedly socialist. This seems to me to be the logical and reasonable position for the magazine to take. I confess that I have long been fed up with advocates of sound economic justice who remain so far above the actual political battle. It seems to me that there is a very dangerous degree of futility about the attitude of so many of our peace lovers who declare a moratorium on their peace program every four years and vote their convictions or prejudices for one of the major political parties.

The Socialist Party has a right to question either the soundness of the head or the loyalty to peace of those alleged advocates of peace who in 1928 accepted blindly either Hoover or Smith and never even listened to a party platform which stated succinctly the things they desire or ought to desire who know what is the cost of peace. The same thing is true, at least to an equal degree, this year. Anyone who believes that peace can be got at a less price than the Socialist Party proposes scarcely deserves so rich a blessing. A world made up like ours, a world which has been so unable to secure any kind of economic justice or equality or banish insecurity cannot be said to deserve the boon of peace. Nor can we expect to have it until the economic conditions make it reasonable rather than unreasonable for us to have a great family of nations working together in the control of machinery necessary for our common life.

I am not, however, writing this article primarily to discuss the question of peace, especially in the narrow way in which that question is usually discussed in so-called peace circles. I am raising a much deeper problem, and that problem concerns the possibility of peaceful revolution. That some revolution is necessary I have argued too often to repeat my reasons here. The question concerns method. On both sides of this question we have dogmatists who are satisfied with easy and simple answers. I should like to challenge that easy and simple dogmatism. Let me begin with the convinced believers in the easy possibility of peaceful revolution, or at least of such social changes as will make violent revolution unnecessary.

Frankly, there is little in the present situation to en-

courage them. I do not think that the *desire* for violence increases in the world but I am fully persuaded that an *acceptance* of the inevitability of violence is steadily on the increase, perhaps particularly in that very working class to which we must look for the making of any genuine revolution. This acceptance of the inevitability of violence does not mean that those who are persuaded of it are dedicating themselves to the business of drilling for war. It does mean that they are not working very hard to find any substitute for violence. They say, and they say with considerable force, "No ruling class ever gave up without a struggle. Struggle almost inevitably means violence, and large scale violence at that." Even though it may be theoretically possible to succeed without violence provided you can win over the great mass of the workers to your side, it is highly improbable that you will thus win over the great mass of workers. They are likely to continue to be fooled by the very class which exploits them. Thus it has been all down through history. In the Civil War, for instance, the overwhelming majority of the Negroes were loyal to their masters and the war itself was fought on the Southern side by a majority of white men who had far more to lose than to gain by the continuance of black slavery. Such is the power of the propaganda of a class which controls the means of propaganda and of education, yes, and of religion itself.

Nor is this all. There is about political action a degree of procrastination and inevitability of compromise which makes it unlikely that men will be stirred so as to bring about profound changes and then protect them against counter assault. The whole atmosphere of politics—at least of parliamentary politics—is too enervating for such firm and stern resolution. Indeed, the conditions under which an allegedly revolutionary party must take part in ordinary politics tend to be paralyzing. Suppose a Socialist should be elected to high office in the United States. He must as a matter of course swear to support the constitution and laws of the United States. He may with great sincerity seek to change that constitution and those laws, but always by constitutional means. He is therefore put in the position where he will have to help to enforce that which does not in the least commend itself to him. Not many men can enforce that in which they do not believe in a time of emergency without either sapping their own sincerity or undermining their original faith. In other words, the psychology and the practical effect of political action both upon those in



office and the rank and file are not favorable to that decisive action which is essential for effective revolution.

UNFORTUNATELY these generalizations are strengthened, seemingly, by the history of Europe since the War. Neither the German Social-Democrats nor the British Labour Party, both of them socialist in profession, has distinguished itself in bringing about even an approach to revolutionary change. Both parties found themselves forced to maintain to some degree a capitalist system to which they had sworn eternal opposition. Their actions for the most part may have been inspired by a very genuine love of peace and orderly progress, but the effect of them has not been revolutionary. Certainly they have not captured the imagination of those who desire revolutionary change. The German Social Democracy found itself voting with great distaste but considerable loyalty for none other than a Von Hindenburg. The British Labour Party came to a point where its leader, Ramsay MacDonald, deserted it but still found it possible to protest to himself and his countrymen that he was a Socialist, even at the very moment when he became the head of a national Tory government. On the other hand, whatever else may be said about Russia, certainly it has had a genuine revolution. There something has happened of profound significance to mankind.

ONCE a world as complex as ours gets to wholesale violence of the kind and on the scale of modern world war—or for that matter, modern civil war—one can tell what will happen. The essence of the violent method is that it is illogical. It does not follow that because Lenin mastered it successfully in Russia it will always be mastered successfully by men sincerely devoted to the coöperative commonwealth. Out of all the violence of the War and the post-War years there has come only one Russian revolution. There have been ever so many other dictatorships of a reactionary sort. Each month and year that passes makes the probable cost of large scale violence more dreadful and its outcome for good more uncertain. The violence which overthrew the Roman Empire at a time when its own inherent weaknesses had brought it close to ruin ushered in no millennium at all but Dark Ages which lasted for some 800 years. The tempo of modern life in a machine age is so quick that probably we should need to expect no such prolonged Dark Ages, but men's suffering might make up in intensity what it would lack in duration. The more complex our society is, the farther we are from the soil, the more dependent upon the intricate coöperation of many different groups in many parts of the world, the more devastating will be any large scale violence. I do not speak merely of physical destruc-

tion, great as that will be, given modern means of warfare. I speak of the destruction of a whole social order. In America especially we should unleash some of the most sinister forces one can imagine. Ours is a country prone to violence. Our cities abound with men who will kill another human being in cold blood at any price from \$25 up. We have race prejudice that have frequently expressed themselves in lynchings more sadistically brutal than anything that Europe records. Who can measure the cost of unleashing such violence as this upon society?

If the skeptics concerning peaceful revolution can turn to current events to substantiate their doubts, so can the skeptics concerning violent revolution. It is highly significant that communism has made its chief progress not in the over-ripe capitalist countries of Germany and Great Britain, but in the industrially backward countries of Russia and China. There is something about the cost of wholesale violence that seems to hold the workers back. There can be small doubt in America that the continual talk among communists of "dictatorship" and the inevitability of violent revolution has a reactionary effect and plays into the hands of the growing body of those in America who want a fascist dictatorship for their own ends.

So far I have been casting doubts upon the easy attainment of revolutionary ends by any means, peaceful or violent. I need hardly assure readers of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* how completely I am enlisted on the side of peaceful revolution. Indeed, I should go so far as to say that until mankind is capable of achieving a peaceful revolution, no revolution will be genuinely secure. I do not think it honest to tell workers to renounce violent means before they have found some other method of carrying on their struggle. But I have no hesitation in saying that the supreme revolution for the final establishment of a fellowship of free men on earth must be a revolution in method as well as in the end sought. No revolution that leaves the old method untouched and the old motive still operative can be altogether secure.

ELSEWHERE I have written that in the troubled state of our world violence is more likely than peace; but peace is so much to be desired that we ought to work for it with new intensity of intelligence and devotion. After all, the failure of European parties cursed with all the legacies of hate which the War unleashed, to bring about peaceful revolution in the troubled post-War years, does not necessarily prove that the task can never be performed. What becomes necessary for those of us who want to risk our lives on the possibility of peaceful revolution is a renewed effort of the intelligence and the will to find new and effective means of struggle as substitutes for violence. In America so far as we are from the revolutionary movement, as that term is understood, let us say, by Com-



munists, that it would be a real advance for us to build a political party honestly devoted to the ends to which the Socialist Party is devoted. Even a strong labor union movement would have an almost revolutionary significance in a country heretofore so completely dominated by capitalist ideology.

This, of course, is not to say that peaceful revolution will be easy in America. There are peculiar difficulties in the way because of the degree of our acceptance of violence and also because of certain of our constitutional limitations on any party winning office. No group of people which honestly sees the need of a completely transformed social order can make legalism a fetish and bow down and worship it at cost of its ideals.

There is immense need in this country, and will be as the years go on, for men and women capable of applying the spirit and something of the technique of Gandhi to American situations. This is true now in connection with many of our strikes. Heartily as I favor a variety of methods which I have frequently discussed for making peace more likely, I do not think that pacifists will achieve much until they have organized groups of young men who will not submit their

consciences and their lives to the dictation of the capitalist state in the event of war. The best guarantee I know for world peace would be such revolution on the part of individuals plus the opposition to war of a genuine solidarity of the workers, a solidarity so well organized that a general strike against war would be a practicable thing.

Meanwhile it is necessary for any socialistic or labor party that achieves a measure of success at the polls to learn from the experience of Europe and to keep clearly before its eyes the true ends which it seeks. It cannot be dazzled by being permitted to hold office at the price of power and remain loyal to its ideals. The achievement of peaceful revolution, among other things, requires a quality of education of the rank and file, a degree of vision of leaders, a practicability of working plans which heretofore, not unnaturally, socialist parties have lacked. If we are to make genuine progress by non-violent means, we shall need not only to keep our goal clearly in sight but to have a very definite notion of what are the next steps we can and should take to achieve that goal. Hence the need for the marriage of a practical program to a sound philosophy of a new social order.

## The Imperial Enigmatic Conference

T. W. L. MacDERMOT

OUT of the welter of judgments already passed on the results of the Imperial Conference which ended at Ottawa on August 20 last, only two things seem beyond dispute. Twelve trade treaties have been signed between nine units of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and no two people can agree as to what the net or even the general result will be. They are twelve complicated enigmas, together constituting one great thirteenth, and they involve every sort of political question—economic, constitutional, imperial, international and political, in the narrow national sense, for each party concerned. Until they have been ratified by the nine parliaments and put into practice by the disillusioned people whom they affect, no one can say with any certitude if they will increase or decrease world trade, if they will sunder the British Empire at long last, or begin building a new great Empire—as Mr. Baldwin dreamily suggests—or if they will lead the way, via the path of freer trade and international coöperation out of the present mess. All these have been predicted with resounding assurance.

The most immediate consideration is the effect of the treaties on the actual flow of trade and on the principles of trade to which they may give rise. The United Kingdom is a huge market for raw materials,

and the leading manufacturing and exporting country in the world. She is therefore tied by a thousand and one bonds of commerce and investment with every part of the globe. She has most favoured nation treaties with practically every exporting country. Her trade outlook is completely un-national. She buys in the cheapest and sells in every market. Yet this power, by the work done at the Conference, has seemingly deliberately fitted herself into an imperial economic scheme as strait and rigid as an Elizabethan stomacher. Ringing herself and eight other parts of the British Commonwealth with an elaborate system of tariff preferences, she has served notice to all the world that for the supply of the huge British market with the chief raw materials such as wheat, copper, lead, zinc, asbestos, dairy products of all kinds, frozen lamb and mutton, her associates come first, and by a very considerable margin. Even her Argentinian meat producers, themselves financially more British than the Canadian farmer, are threatened with a quota against their meat, which is already causing them anxiety.

By this almost fanatical five year marriage with protective tariffs the British government appears to have dealt a dirty and fatal blow to the one great contribution it might have made at the coming world economic conference, namely, the advocacy of free trade as the



sole basis for international economic health. So it appears. The number of tariffs have undoubtedly been increased, and by their ugly potency the United Kingdom seems to be striving to divert her long established rivers of foreign trade and confuse and antagonize old economic associations, all for the sake of a cheap and transparent Imperial sentiment, assiduously exploited even now by hard-faced bargainers and arrogant John Bulls. Worse than that, Great Britain, with a chance to lead world opinion to a more gracious frame of mind, seems to have followed the obscurantist example set by Australia and Canada, one bankrupt, the other with a severely contracted trade, through the operation of their mad economic nationalism and preposterous tariffs. Again, so it appears.

The reality may turn out to be otherwise. The United Kingdom has committed herself to preferential tariffs beyond doubt. But there has been a large *quid pro quo*. First, the treaties are so riddled with conditions, qualifications and heavily weighted assumptions that all parties can find means of climbing out of them tomorrow if they please. For example, in order to keep their copper preference of four cents a pound in the British market, Canada and the other copper exporting Dominions have to sell "at prices not exceeding the world prices." Further, the commodity must be sold "in quantities sufficient to supply the requirements of the United Kingdom consumers." Common agreement can end the treaties at any time, and so on. Not for nothing have the British done without a political philosophy for centuries.

Secondly, the treaties will make Great Britain a free trade market for Empire raw commodities. The Canadian Minister of Agriculture gloats over the fact that the farmers of Canada have not had to give up anything, and the milk producers are gleeful over the huge preferred market opened for their condensed milk. At the same time, English papers are attacking the additional taxation of the English consumer of condensed milk for the benefit of the South African producer. South African asbestos, too, will compete equally with Canadian asbestos and both will only get world prices. It is possible that while Canadian delegates were wrestling among themselves and together striving to budge the stocky Mr. Baldwin from his Russian stand, they forgot the South Africans, Australians and New Zealanders, who were also bargaining with the strategically placed Britishers.

But there is a third, and most important, point. Preferential tariffs in British hands have been used to make two ugly breaches in the outer walls of Dominion protectionist systems. In exchange for the privilege of selling their goods for the same price as other people would in Britain, the Dominions, i.e., Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia and Newfoundland, have all agreed, first, either to lower their tariffs against certain speci-

fied British manufactured goods, or to give them preference by raising other tariffs; second, to set up tariff boards or tariff enquiries in Canada, Australia and New Zealand before which British exporters as well as Dominion manufacturers and others might appear to plead their respective cases, for protection of Dominion products against British will be confined "to those industries which are reasonably assured of sound opportunities for success," and in the process of arriving at the meaning of "reasonably," "success," and similar ambiguities, publicity and comparison of costs, the deadliest enemies of high protection manufacturers, will become permanent features of imperial trade.

Looked at from this angle, the British have used the tariff *not* to protect particular vested interests—manufacturers, millers, etc.—who might in turn use it to keep up prices and keep out competitors, but to readjust the channels of trade and to bargain eight other countries into accepting a principle of trade they have hitherto rejected. Dominion producers selling behind the preference will not add one cent to their profits, though they will enjoy greater stability and safety perhaps, and world prices will look after the British consumer. Contrariwise, incidentally, the British exporter will become the chief guardian of the Dominion consumer. This is a new use for "protection."

On the other hand, the Dominions have committed themselves to a relaxation of their tariffs. "The basic principle of the Canadian concessions," it has been said, "is the elimination of protection from our tariffs against British goods." The Conference may yet prove to have been "a means of progressive liberation of intra-empire trade" and the vindication of the fundamental free trade principle. If the above analysis has anything in it, something will have been done to release the world from the grip of high tariffs, and economic nationalism is bound to die, even if its chrysalis stage is a species of economic imperialism.

There still remain many disturbing facts. Nothing has been done to work out or enunciate any new conception of the future of the Empire "based rationally on its economic structure and capabilities." The deliberations were marked by alarming evidence of international jealousy and irritation. A world trade war is on, and the British Empire figures as a group of Allied Powers consolidating its business men to wage it more bitterly. Only the doggedness of the British delegates prevented Canadian politicians and others, with mixed motives of sincere but narrow religiosity, hypocrisy and economic astigmatism, from naming Russia as an enemy state to Empire trade. Retaliation on the defiant arrogance of the Hawley-Smoot tariff was another sentiment that helped to draw British peoples together. From Sweden, Denmark, Germany and elsewhere have come alarmed and resentful reactions. The array of most-favored nation treaties to which Great Britain and the Dominions are party are all in



anger of cancellation. The experts are looking into the matter now. And there is a widespread feeling at the British Empire, so often pictured as a peace-association of nations, may have turned itself into "dividend merger" in restraint of trade.

These dark thoughts are not removed when we recall the numerous questions that the Conference left unanswered or deliberately burked. Canadians are all asking themselves if Mr. Bennett really knows what he has done and where he is prepared to go. Unlike Mr. King, the economist who led the Constitutional Conference of 1926, Mr. Bennett is the constitutional lawyer who led the Economic Conference of 1932. And even in his final speech he was ambiguous to the last degree on the matter of his fiscal policy. This may have been on purpose, because he has some calcitrant colleagues and some highly embittered and armed supporters. But what may we expect if he has embarked on one policy under the delusion that it is another?

Then there are the manufacturers and exporters. They have no illusions about Empire or free trade sentiment. Some are already talking cynically about the tariff boards whom they fully expect to put in their pockets and keep there. Again, there is the profound secrecy that is supposed to surround the Dominion commissions until they can be dealt with in Parliament. The public cannot make up its mind about these until they have been rammed through Parliament—or looked there—by obedient parties. Finally, there is the inscrutable unmanageability of trade the world over. Man proposes but God, especially the God of Hammon, disposes, and it is impossible to tell if the Ottawa treaties will really give an impulse to trade or whether their perplexing character and obvious intent to alter the direction of huge volumes of trade will merely accentuate the present confusion.

For the British Empire itself the Conference may be a turning point. There is strong evidence of the desire to stick together; but there is no evidence of what will happen when new tests arrive. The tariff boards open to outside nationals will raise constitutional cries that an alert opposition can easily turn to disruptive ends. A Canadian reciprocity treaty with the United States, now being talked about, will put a severe strain on an Empire-looking policy. It may be significant that the United Kingdom signed no treaty with Ireland, and that Canada and South Africa, the most un-British of the Dominions, did. These are some of the enigmas of the Conference.

For those who regard the world as a single unit and are unwilling to waste time over outworn or dying nationalisms and imperialisms, there is much in the Conference that was deplorable and even menacing. To those that incline to hope and feel that a world can integrate itself but slowly, there is more than that. The best tendencies in the British peoples have in the

past been towards peace and freedom. The least one can say about the Conference is that one more step towards these ideals has not necessarily been made impossible by what happened there, and if its most civilized principles are given free play, that step should be easily made.

### Toward the Political Precipice

Here in the United States, we are having political discussions and political contests camouflaged under party names which have for some years past been without any but merely nominal significance. The names Democrat and Republican are used by those who claim them to cloak all sorts and kinds of difference of opinion as to fundamental matters of political philosophy and public policy as well as to cover a multitude of sins. All that these names really signify, however, is that the bearers of the one name are in present official place and power and that the bearers of the other name wish to oust them. In the sense of 1868, of 1876, of 1880, of 1896 or of 1904, there is neither a Democrat party nor a Republican party. There are voting groups using these party names, strongly influenced by the names and by the emotions that they arouse, but they are held together in no conceivable unity that is nation-wide on any important points of common conviction and common principle. As a result, the present crisis is more severe in the United States than anywhere else in the world, and it is so, first, because of our demonstrated political indifference; second, because of our apparent unwillingness and inability to adapt and adjust our political methods and our political machinery to the actual conditions of today; and, third, because of the incapacity of our government to enter vigorously and with conviction upon those measures of international consideration and international coöperation which alone can bring this devastating crisis to an end. Diagnosis is of little value if therapeutics be lacking. We are drifting steadily, and not so very slowly, toward the edge of a political precipice.—*President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, in an address, May 19, 1932.*

### To Our Subscribers

The fact that THE WORLD TOMORROW becomes a weekly publication with this issue will not affect the expiration dates of present subscriptions, which will be continued to the first issue of the month in which expiration occurs.





# Not in the

## Canadians Organize for Social and Political Action

To challenge the existing social order and to lay the foundations of a new society, the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation has been organized in Canada under the leadership of James S. Woodsworth, Labor Member of the House of Commons. From the very beginning it embraces the leading farmer and labor organizations in the four western provinces and bids fair to spread rapidly over all Canada, according to *The U.F.A.*, organ of the United Farmers of Alberta. The movement expects to bid for political power in the next election, which many observers believe to be imminent. While the Ottawa Conference was seeking to restore prosperity by adding a few patches to the disintegrating system of capitalism, says *The U.F.A.*, "the object of the Federation is fundamental social reconstruction." A vigorous campaign will be carried on from coast to coast, "farmer and labor representatives in Parliament combining with farm and workers' leaders to rouse the people to the urgent necessity for the democratic organization of the forces of citizenship as a means of transforming the economic order."

## Free Speech Wins in Denver

Six Denver workers, convicted of unlawfully collecting in a crowd and loitering, were recently discharged by County Judge George A. Luxford when their cases were appealed by Carl Whitehead, local attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. Originally these defendants and six others were charged with vagrancy, disturbance, and speaking without a permit at a meeting under Communist auspices. When first arraigned, Police Judge A. H. Pickens had to dismiss these charges because of insufficient evidence, and he then said, according to the Union, "The statutes cover a multitude of sins. We certainly can get them on some charge." He then found the prisoners guilty on the other accusations and sent them to jail in default of a \$125 fine. However, six of the accused were freed in May by District Judge R. W. Steele, who assailed Judge Pickens for prejudicial remarks. When Judge Luxford discharged the remaining six, the A.C.L.U. states, "he took occasion to deliver a lecture about the American flag and 100 per cent

patriotism," but "wanted to show the prisoners that the State was big-hearted and would let them go."

## National Government Failure

The boasted aid to employment in Britain has not materialized. Not only have exports declined under tariffs and curtailment of social services, but unemployment steadily rises, having reached during July, according to official figures released at the end of August, 3,011,000, the highest ever.

## Danish Women Workers Demand Maternity Protection

A resolution asking for maternity protection somewhat along the lines afforded women laborers in Russia was passed unanimously at the recent Danish Working Women's Congress at Copenhagen. Contending that "it must be one of the first duties of the community to protect the maternity of working women," the Congress called upon the government to "adopt legislation as soon as possible with a view to securing full wages for working women during the six weeks before and the six weeks after childbirth."

## Behind in League Dues

Depression also has hit the League of Nations, though it has had no comparative effect on armaments. Of the fifty-seven states now members of the League, according to the *New York Times*, 24 have defaulted in payments of their proportion of the League's expenses, while Great Britain has had to pay her assessment of \$910,000 for the year. The budget has increased only \$2,500,000 over that of 1925. A percentage of 94 was achieved in payments of obligations to the League by member nations in 1930, but the figure fell drastically in 1931. War-torn China is in arrears some \$2,500,000, while the total sum in arrears reached almost \$4,000,000. Canada, with only 12,000,000 people, pays almost half of the total each year for France and Germany combined, and nearly two-thirds as much as Japan, which has a population of over 60,000,000.

## Pitter Goes to Prison

Przemysl Pitter, a leader of the European Fellowship of Reconciliation and active in the War Resisters' International, has been sentenced to three months in jail in Czechoslovakia for having on his person the still unpublished manifesto of the Joint Peace Council against conscription and for writing encouraging letters to other war resisters who were behind the bars.

## Rapid Socialist Growth in U. S. A.

Ever since the first of January, 1931, new Socialist Party local branches have been formed in the United States at the rate of one and a quarter every day.

## Russia's Post Office

What the rapidly extending communications system of the U. S. S. R. is doing for general cultural conditions is revealed by the new provisions for handling mail being worked out for the Second Five Year Plan. It is estimated that by 1935 the post office will carry more than forty-eight letters and post cards per capita compared with eleven this year. The increase will be still greater in newspapers and magazines, the distribution of which is expected to be 244 instead of 39 per capita. Telegrams per capita are expected to rise from 0.563 this year to 2.2 in 1937; telephone calls from city to city are looked for to jump from 0.225 per inhabitant to 1.24, and the number of telephones to increase from 1.2 to 3. for each hundred citizens. At present the period required for delivery of the average letter is sixteen hours; this will be cut to five hours.

## "Take No Prisoners in War"

Lieutenant T. M. Synge, according to the International Antimilitaristic Commission, in a recent number of the *British Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, concludes that in the case of an attack by troops in modern mechanized warfare, no prisoners can be captured and brought to the rear, because the attacking officer has no troops at his disposal. He proposes, therefore, that all prisoners be shot dead on the spot.

## Wisconsin Allows Free Election Radio

Governor Philip La Follette again has made Wisconsin unique among the states by inaugurating a program of radio talk on the election whereby candidates of all parties are permitted to broadcast their views on government free of charge over stations WHA and WLBL. Speakers are confined to state and national issues, but their talks are not censored. The state, which puts a limit on the use of funds for campaign purposes, conceives it a public duty to see that every political party has a chance to present its views to the voters. Similar moves are on foot in other states now that Wisconsin has taken the lead.



# Headlines

## German Labor Under Germany's Stress

falling off of 12.3 per cent in membership of the German unions affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, or a drop from 4,716,569 in 1930 to 4,134,902 in 1931, is regarded as indicative of unsuspected strength and tenacity in the workers' movement. Fighting against unprecedented odds, they have maintained their ranks intact as compared to the years of the currency collapse between 1922 and 1924, when they fell from 7,800,000 to a little more than 4,000,000. Although many unions are compelled to cut down benefit rates to shorten benefit periods, they were able to pay out to workers the substantial sum of 50,981,778 marks, or about \$12,770,000.

## Swiss Labor Gains

In spite of the depression, according to the International Federation of Trade Unions, the I. F. T. U. unions in Switzerland have been able to increase their membership by 12,000 in the past year and also show successful results in the field of labor disputes. Figures from the National Labor Center indicate that 455 disputes occurred in 1931, involving 14 trade unions and 100,000 workers. Many struggles did not result in a strike stage, but were settled by preliminary negotiation. The strikes averaged a duration of four or five days, and about 96,000 Swiss francs (\$19,200) was paid out by the unions in strike pay. Of the total number of 455 disputes, 43 per cent came to a successful conclusion, 35 per cent brought partial success, and 11 per cent were failures, the rest being carried over for later settlement at the time these figures were compiled. No fewer than 154 controversies resulted in a rise in wages, affecting 10,000 workers.

## Wages Since 1902

Farmer wages have dropped to the lowest general level in thirty years, says the Department of Agriculture, being only 87 per cent of pre-war wages. The drop during the past year was 29 per cent.

## Britain Too!

Out of every pound of national expenditure, reports the London *New Leader*, if the self-supporting services are omitted, twelve shillings and one penny goes to pay for the past, present, and future wars, leaving seven shillings and elevenpence for all other needs.

## Commonwealth College Forges Ahead

This school for workers at Mena, Arkansas, which was founded in 1923 and has struggled against terrific odds, is beginning its new year in a vastly improved situation, though the need for funds is still great to cover the \$2,500 gap between receipts from tuition and upkeep. In order to accommodate 60 to 75 students, a new dormitory is projected. Meantime, through capital equipment made available last year by the Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst Committee and the Carnegie Corporation, in the words of the school's fortnightly, "Commoners are able to read by electric lights in the library, admire ice cubes floating in the water pitcher, seek the embrace of machine-washed linen, and drink deep-well water filtered and conveyed by a pressure system. Next winter they will dine on tomatoes, green beans and apple butter put up in the college cannery, fatten on potatoes kept whole and dry by a concrete floor, and scrub themselves nonchalantly under a new hot shower while winter winds cavort outside."

## Five Hundred Economists Speak Out

In an open letter 500 economists urge the American voters to support the platform of the League for Independent Political Action and to cast their ballots for Thomas and Maurer.

## Seventy Millions Buy Coöperatively

The world-wide coöperative movement now has more than 70 million participants, reports the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1930 the total volume of business was in excess of 17 billion dollars.

## Future Water Power

The Federal Government has reserved nearly seven million acres of land in 21 states for future power reservoirs, according to information released by the Geological Survey. The potential capacity of these future reservoirs is estimated at 15 million horsepower.

## Socialist Party on Prohibition

The referendum on the liquor plank of the Socialist Party resulted in a three to one vote by party members throughout the country that the plank be retained in the platform. Thus the official position of the Socialist Party is that the 18th Amendment should be repealed and replaced by government ownership and control of the liquor industry, with measures safeguarding the right of "each state to maintain prohibition within its borders."

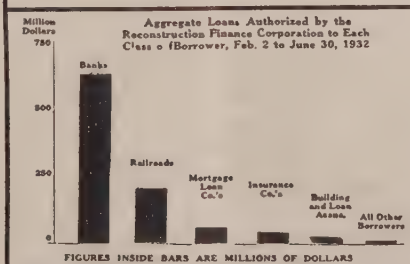
## The American Dole

The first consignment of 40 million bushels of wheat put at the disposal of the Red Cross from the supply of the Federal Farm Board has been distributed to more than three million families. In certain quarters astonishment has been manifested at the statement by Red Cross officials that the second allotment of 40 million bushels "will amply meet all anticipated needs for the fall and winter."

## Peruvian Socialist's Fate in Doubt

The brilliant radical leader and Socialist candidate for the presidency of Peru, Haya de la Torre, is still in prison and is held incommunicado, having, it is thought, escaped execution, which was the fate of many so-called and some genuine Communists who led a popular uprising against the bloodthirsty Peruvian dictatorship. De la Torre himself is known to be not a Communist, as contended in official reports from the Peruvian autocracy, but has been endeavoring, as he has stated, to build in Peru a party similar to the British Labour Party. It has been reported that he is on a hunger strike in protest against the treatment being meted out to him, but his present condition and his ultimate fate are not determined.

## Who Got the First Billion of Reconstruction Finance Corporation Funds?



The banks got \$643,000,000 (including \$80,000,000 voted by the then president of the Reconstruction Finance Corp., Charles Gates Dawes, to his own bank, the Central Trust Co. of Illinois).

The railroads got \$214,000,000.

Mortgage loan companies got \$74,000,000.

Insurance companies got \$63,000,000.

Building and loan associations got \$52,000,000.

Unemployed workers did not get a loan of a red cent.  
—From *America For All*.



# Socialism Versus Communism

KIRBY PAGE

WHO is to be master of our economic resources? This is the primary social question with which we are now confronted. Professor Gardiner Means of Columbia University has computed that the 200 largest corporations in the United States control more than one-third of the business wealth of the nation, and that these 200 corporations are themselves controlled by 2,000 directors. These men, through the device of the interlocking directorate, also exercise enormous influence over innumerable other corporations, and have much to say about the relative rates of dividends and wages. Professor Slichter, of Harvard, in a notable article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, has summarized the evidence which shows that in 1930 the dividends paid by the corporations of the United States were 65 per cent higher than in the prosperity year 1928, while wages dropped 19 per cent during the same period.

In seeking to remove the menace of consolidated money power and to equalize privilege, Socialists propose to take nine steps, immediate and ultimate. The most urgent of these measures is direct relief for the unemployed. From 20 to 30 millions of people in the United States now live in families that are being cruelly victimized by involuntary unemployment. The need is so abysmal that charitable organizations are unable to make proper provisions, and numerous municipalities are reaching the limit of the taxing and borrowing power. Huge appropriations from the Federal treasury are imperatively demanded if wholesale starvation and numberless deaths from malnutrition are to be avoided this winter. Socialists are opposed in principle to charity, but the failure of capitalism is so complete that other measures cannot be inaugurated with sufficient speed to provide for prevailing destitution.

A national and comprehensive scheme of social insurance is a second measure advocated by Socialists. The unavoidable risks of an industrial civilization must be shared by society rather than left to menace the individual victim. Steps should forthwith be taken to launch a national system of insurance covering health, accidents, unemployment, old age, and maternity, heavily supported by state and national subsidies. In the third place, there should be a drastic and rapid extension of public privileges in the realms of health, recreation, culture and education. More and more of the privileges of life should be made available for all through the coöperative channel of public funds.

The present emergency demands national and state bond issues on a substantial scale in order to provide

funds with which to extend public works, thus providing employment and carrying forward socially advantageous enterprises, including highways, afforestation, irrigation, river control, and dams for water power. Municipal housing on a vast scale is needed and could absorb considerable numbers of unemployed. A nation that can raise 20 billion dollars in bond issues for war purposes can and should issue bonds to the extent of five or 10 billions for the double purpose of providing employment and making available socially constructive and redemptive facilities.

SOCIALISTS recognize the imperative need for a triple organization of workers, consumers and voters if an equitable distribution of the proceeds of industry is to be secured. Collective bargaining on the part of workers through their own national unions is indispensable. The class-consciousness of owners and employers must be offset by class-consciousness on the part of workers, and the units of organized labor must be as extensive and powerful as the units of organized capital through giant corporations and employers' associations. As long as labor remains unorganized, the tyranny of money will remain unbroken. The organizing of the consumers in local, regional and national coöperative societies is likewise urgently required. The economic power of organized workers and consumers must be supplemented by pressure on the part of organized voters. The strengthening of the Socialist Party therefore becomes of paramount importance. When this triple organization is sufficiently advanced, a pacific revolution can be achieved in the distribution of privilege and power by combining economic and political pressure.

Socialists believe that taxation should be regarded as an instrument of social policy and used deliberately and resolutely as a means of breaking the stranglehold of great wealth, while providing necessary funds with which to make available advantages and privileges for citizens in general. Progressive income and inheritance taxes are constitutional and may be used rigorously. If the Socialists were in political control it would be possible to tax the upper brackets so heavily that no individual could legally receive an income beyond the limit fixed—say \$25,000 or \$10,000 or even less. It would likewise be possible through taxes upon inheritances to take all of an estate beyond the legal limit, perhaps \$100,000 or \$25,000 or less. Land taxes should be imposed in such a way as to lift the burden from small holdings and to consume the unearned increment arising from increased land values.



rious excess and luxury taxes are also available and may be used effectively. By this combination of taxes incomes may be revolutionized within two years and wealth redistributed within two generations. The latter process may be speeded up by resorting to the capillary if this seems desirable.

The progressive extension of public ownership and operation of land, natural resources, public utilities and basic industries is a cardinal plank in the Socialist platform. In the United States at the present time the following industries are "ripe" for nationalization: banking, water power, coal mines, railways, telephones and telegraph, and various other public utilities. Socialists would eliminate private profit entirely from these industries, and as rapidly as experience justified would extend public ownership and operation to the other major means of production and distribution. Progress in these directions will make possible social planning on an effective scale. The motivation of private gain, the method of competition, and the theory of *laissez faire*—the spinal cord and nervous system of capitalism—make impossible adequate social planning. Nothing short of advanced Socialism will provide satisfactorily for planned production and distribution.

The ninth step proposed by Socialists is the removal of the menace of militarism, imperialism and chauvinistic nationalism. They would prevent war-fortunes and illicit gains from imperialism by destroying the war system. The Socialist Party is vigorously pacifist and in favor of complete disarmament by agreement or example. It is opposed to armed intervention in other lands, and advocates the removal of all our military forces from Haiti, Nicaragua, China and other foreign countries. It is committed to immediate independence for the Philippines.

THE Communist method of reaching the goal of a classless society is through class-war. To consciousness the Communist Party would add class-struggle and class-warfare. The seizure of power by violence and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are considered necessary by Communists. "The capitalist class," writes William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for President, "like an inextinguishable blood-sucker, hangs to the body of the toiling masses and can be dislodged only by force. . . . It is the Communist parties in the other countries, led by the Communist International and supported by the masses, that will strike the death-blow to world capitalism. . . . To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act . . . the working class cannot itself come into power without civil war. . . . the proletarian dictatorship must be supported by the organized armed might of the workers, soldiers, naval militia, etc. In the early stages of the revolution, even before the seizure of power, the workers will

organize the Red Guard. Later on this loosely constructed body becomes developed into a firmly-knit, well-disciplined Red Army." That is to say, the Communist Party proposes to utilize the military method in seeking to create the classless society.

The Communist Party does not confine its hostility to capitalism; it is also ruthless in its attacks upon the Socialist Party. The organ of the Communist Party, *The Daily Worker*, is venomous in its onslaughts against Norman Thomas and other Socialists. Candidate Foster is more restrained, but even he does not pull his punches, as may be seen: "The Socialist parties of the world are the third parties of capitalism. . . . They are a part of the capitalist machinery for taking the bread out of the mouths of the workers and their families, the principal barrier to the revolution. . . . The Socialist Party stabs the working class in the back." Michael Gold, another outstanding American Communist, says: "You ask for a few reasons why Communists oppose Socialists and pacifists. Main reason: these two groups emasculate, betray and mislead the working class. They are the final hurdle which the working-class must leap, the final weakness which must be cut out, like a cancer, before the workers can take power. . . . Pacifism is always anti-working-class, in effect and deed. . . . Pacifist socialism always makes the road easier for fascism. . . . Pacifism is a defense of the *status quo*."

THE Communist Party proposes, if it succeeds by violence in capturing control of society, to suppress relentlessly all opposition, including the Socialist Party. Listen again to Mr. Foster: "Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses . . . what stupidity it would be for the victorious workers, whose aim it is to liquidate all classes, to permit these counter-revolutionary elements to organize themselves into political parties and thus enable them to sabotage the new regime, to fight for the re-establishment of their system of robbing the workers and generally to act as a barrier to the progress of the new society. . . . Religious schools will be abolished and organized religious training for minors prohibited. Freedom will be established for anti-religious propaganda. . . . God will be banished from the laboratories as well as from the schools."

The Communist Party of Soviet Russia is regarded as the ideal by American Communists. They assume that the strategy by which the old regime in Russia was overthrown will be effective in the United States. Socialists, however, believe that this assumption is entirely fallacious and highly dangerous. The latter point out that the opposition to the Bolsheviks in Russia was relatively weak, due to the utter collapse of Czarism under the intolerable weight of the war-



burden and to centuries of corruption and tyranny. In the United States, however, for an indefinite period in the future the opposition to a Communist seizure of power will be terrific. The idea that capitalism in this country is now afflicted with dying convulsions is nonsense. A Communist revolution would instantly drive America into the arms of fascism, and the uprising would be crushed ruthlessly by the army and state troops, reenforced by hired guards and patriotic volunteers. The weapons at the disposal of the owning class would prove to be annihilating.

Even if the Communists succeed in winning over a portion of the army, navy, and state guards, a prolonged civil war would be required before the dictatorship of the proletariat could be firmly established. The middle class in this country constitutes a considerable proportion of the entire population. The home-owning farmers likewise form an extremely significant part of the nation. To imagine that the middle class city dwellers and farmers will throw their support behind a Communist revolution is sheer romanticism and has absolutely no basis in reality. The endeavor to arouse the twelve millions of Negroes in this country to participate in violent class war is fraught with infinite possibilities of tragedy.

Even under the most favorable conditions the Communists could not win until after months and perhaps years of bloody civil war. The effects of such a conflict would be ghastly beyond exaggeration. The United States is now highly industrialized and highly urbanized. Its people cannot be kept alive except through the smooth functioning of an intricate and delicately adjusted system of production and distribution. Prolonged civil war would result in wholesale starvation, in addition to the annihilation of multitudes who would be slaughtered with poison gas and other devastating weapons of modern warfare.

The Communists accept unqualifiedly the doctrine that the end justifies the means; that is, they take over bag and baggage the military method. To members of the Third International, as to soldiers at the front, the law of necessity transcends ethical principles, and that practice is regarded as moral which leads to victory. The writer once listened for an hour to a high official of the Red Terror as he described how they saved the St. Petersburg Revolution by sending armed workers throughout the city dealing out death to members of the old regime and striking terror into the ranks of counter revolutionaries. In reply to the question, "How many men did you kill?" he replied: "As many as we needed to." This is, of course, identically the same attitude as that displayed by army officers on war duty. General Foch did not rejoice over rivers of German blood, but merely considered slaughter a tragic necessity.

It is thus evident that militarists and patriots who sanction the war system are not in a favorable position

to condemn Communists for following their own example, and merely substituting class enemies for nation enemies. Pacifists, however, who repudiate the war system under all circumstances, can consistently say that the method used by Communists is highly unethical and unjustifiable. Ages of experience have shown that the effort to remove injustice and create a new world by hatred among citizens and slaughter on the battlefields is doomed to failure. War sows the seed of its own perpetuation and can never be ended by war. Evil cannot permanently be cast out by doing evil. The new society cannot rest securely upon foundations of hatred and war and terror. The rains will descend and the winds will blow, and that house will crash because it is founded upon sand.

The Socialists, therefore, utterly reject the Communist method of violent revolution on pragmatic grounds as well as from ethical considerations. The effort to create by violence a classless society in this country within the next three or four decades is simply fantastic—and the endeavor is wholly unnecessary. In a much shorter time the methods advocated by the Socialist Party will lead far down the road toward an equitable and classless society which will function on the principle: "from each according to his ability, and to each according to his need." Surely it is far easier and more desirable to persuade America to adopt the Socialist program than it is to attempt revolution by violence.



## Bread-Line

WITH such a weary shuffle, Fate  
May hide within a desolate  
Bread-line; and shambling steps like this  
May be the march of Nemesis;  
That bleary look of eyes may be  
The cheating gaze of Destiny;  
The sound of dragging feet may make  
A world of tyrannies to quake;  
And drooping shoulders hide the strength  
To build the world anew at length.  
Be careful of this bread-line's tread:  
Its ragged disinherited  
May be disguising might of kings,  
For all their sullen mutterings.  
Look close, as near the bread-line comes,  
For Cromwells in the clothes of bums.  
Look close: for, as the outcasts brood  
And starve (because there's too much food),  
These tattered and these outlawed chattels  
May flash forth, heroes, girt for battles,  
Where trumpets rally comrades, when  
Man fights to free himself from men!

LOUIS GINSBERG





# The Book End

*With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

## The Doctors Prescribe

*Essays in Persuasion.* By J. M. Keynes. Harcourt, Brace. 376 pp. \$2.50.

*Recovery.* By Sir Arthur Salter. Century Company. 353 pp. \$3.00.

HERE we have the prophecies and prescriptions which Mr. Keynes has uttered in the past but which were never needed, and the only slightly less sound advice which Sir Arthur Salter offers to the world in its present impasse but which in turn is likely to meet no better fate. If the best test of a scientist is his ability to predict what is likely to occur, then Mr. Keynes abundantly meets that test. In his famous *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, written on the morrow of the Peace Conference, he first exposed the fantastic unsoundness of the reparations provisions of the treaty which thirteen years of history have but confirmed. In 1923, in his *Tract on Monetary Reform*, he opposed the reestablishment of the gold standard in England as long as British costs and prices were above the level of those of gold standard countries. Two years later, in his witty *Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill*, he showed how the adoption of this policy had depressed British trade because of the lowering of sterling prices which it had forced. The failure of costs to fall commensurately contributed to create a fundamental unsteadiness in the British economic situation which finally, in a period of special stress last autumn, carried England off the gold standard. The present collection of Keynes' essays on the treaty, deflation, and the gold standard, not only demonstrate his prescience but also his great stylistic powers. Surely no great economist ever before wrote so amazingly well. With the same hand which penned the classic treatises on *Probability* and *Money*, he has drawn the unforgettable vignette of the Big Three at Versailles, and the merciless exposure of Mr. Winston Churchill's mental shallowness. When such a master as this, therefore, declares that what the world needs most in the way of monetary reform is a return to the 1928 price level as the best means of restoring the margin of profit, stimulating industry, and lessening the ever heavier burden of fixed indebtedness, he should be listened to by a world which, though suffering from the greatest deflation of modern times, still lacks the courage to reflate.

Sir Arthur Salter's advice is of a similar nature. After tracing in a lucid fashion the economic and political factors which have produced the cumulative debacle, he too advises a rise in world prices, a lowering of tariffs, a definitive settlement of reparations and war debts on a greatly reduced basis, and a resumption of international lending. It is not thoroughly clear whether the author wishes to have prices raised solely by means of credit expansion through our present banking structure or whether he wishes monetary expansion as well. Looking into the future, he

ultimately hopes for a currency and credit system managed by international authorities and for regulated international cartels. If these measures can be adopted and the basic conditions of peace assured, he believes that capitalism can and will endure. But if this is to occur, then, as he says, "this apprehensive and defensive world needs now above all, the qualities it seems for the moment to have abandoned, courage and magnanimity."

There are, however, at least three comments which need to be made to his proposals. The first is that the recent fall in prices has been so great that it is highly improbable that any expansion of credit within our present banking system will be sufficient to restore prices to anywhere near the earlier level. The second is that American experience with foreign loans has been so unhappy that it is highly improbable that in any near future our investors will again be willing to send their savings abroad. For not only will our war-time loans to the Allies probably be repudiated sooner or later, but part of our private loans to Germany may also be lost. When we add to all this the losses we will suffer from the default by South American countries and the gigantic frauds perpetrated at our expense by the Swedish adventurer, Kreuger, it is patent that Europe cannot look to us in the future as the source of funds. Finally, liberal-spirited as Sir Arthur is, he still has a natural English tendency to ask the United States to make most of the sacrifices needed for European appeasement and perhaps to forget somewhat too easily that we did not profit from the war, whereas Great Britain took German Southwest and Southeast Africa, consolidated its hold on Egypt, extended its influence over Arabia, got possession of the German merchant marine and wiped the German fleet off the map. Such considerations should not be forgotten in balancing the account books of the war and in allocating the amounts of sacrifice needed from the various nations.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

## Waldo Frank in Russia

*Dawn in Russia.* By Waldo Frank. Scribners. 272 pages. \$2.25.

AFTER reading Waldo Frank's classic interpretation of South America, one finds his record of a Russian journey something of a disappointment. It was not meant to be more than a casual chronicle of the impressions of a sympathetic tourist, and it makes no pretension to be the thoughtful analysis of a culture and a civilization that his *America Hispana* proved to be. But it is a little disappointing even on its own terms. It is rich in flashes of real insight into the Russian soul and into the significance of the Russian experiment. It offends, however, in its sentimentalities, of which the worst example is a description of a visit to Lenin's tomb containing the following passages: "He lies in a soldier's simple uniform with his hands clasped on his chest. The



hands are delicate and pale and long. They bespeak precision, the exquisite capacity for pain is in them and the equal power to respond to pain with exquisite method." We may be obtuse but we know of no way in which the imagination can legitimately read so much meaning into or out of a dead man's hands.

For the rest, the book is significant for the number of doubts about the Russian experiment which arise in the soul of so sympathetic and enthusiastic an observer as Mr. Frank. He does not believe that modern Russian art is creative. He is not certain that the abandonment of the equalitarian principle in wages and the establishment of wage differentials and bonuses is, as the Russians maintain, merely a momentary concession to a rapidly disintegrating capitalist psychology. He is shocked by the absolutism of the Communists. "I tried to explain to him that the method of creating a revolutionary future might be different in my country, since our past was different. He answered: There is nothing Russian about communist truths. Russia no longer exists. Stalin is not a Russian, Marx was not a Russian, nor is Litvinov a Russian. Communism will unlock the brotherhood of man with the same key in China, in Africa and in America." So, inevitably, great triumphs made possible by peculiar concatenations of circumstances in history obscure the relative factors of history and claim the sanctity of the absolute.

R. N.

## War Guilt

*Germany Not Guilty in 1914.* By M. H. Cochran. Stratford. \$2.00.

HARDLY had Bernadotte Schmitt's *The Coming of the War, 1914* left the presses when it was announced that Professor Cochran would analyze the book in detail in another volume. *Germany Not Guilty in 1914* is Cochran's answer to Schmitt. It is an extraordinary book, such as the historical world seldom gets to see. It is a bitter and biting attack which tries to demolish Schmitt's entire book. It charges Schmitt with transgressing almost every rule of historical methodology, including mistranslations, misuse of sources, neglect of new information, and open bias. The case centers largely around Edward Grey, the Russian mobilization, the sincerity of German peace efforts, and the chronology of events in July, 1914. On the whole, it would seem that Cochran is right and that Schmitt permitted his belief in the responsibility of the Central Powers to mar his scholarship and his vast knowledge of diplomacy.

Professor Cochran is much disturbed by the reviews of Schmitt's book. He cites many sentences out of their context to disparage the reviewers. Yet it is also true that not for a long time has a book appeared with which there was as much disagreement as with Schmitt's. Swain's review is almost without precedent; Moon and Langer did not mince their words, and the note of disagreement was dominant in many other reviews.

Professor Schmitt has tried to prove that the responsibility for the World War lies primarily with the Central Powers. This is the contention of Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. In making his case, much exceedingly damaging material to the Allied case is necessarily introduced. It is safe to say that, had as much been known about the origins of the War in 1919 as Schmitt produces in his book, the Allies would hardly have dared to write Article 231 into the treaty.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Thomas for President

YOUR readers will not want to be neutral in this crisis: Abolition, in this year of 1932 they will want to make their vote count against the two old parties which have shown themselves completely unable and unwilling to meet the challenge of misrule with any intelligence with regard to the problems of today.

A strong Committee is growing, which is composed of men and women, not now members of the Socialist Party, who wish to make their endorsement of Thomas for President count in the campaign.

Your readers can help organize the discontent in the nation into a propelling force behind a program and a genuine leader.

The headquarters of the Committee are at 112 East 19th Street.

New York, N. Y.

THOMAS FOR PRESIDENT  
COMMITTEE OF FIVE THOUSAND

### Shirts

WHEN the smoke and tear gas of the Bonus Expeditionary Force's eviction from Washington by the United States Army cleared away, a new figure in American history appeared among the ruins. Captain Waters' announcement of the organization of the Khaki Shirt clothed with a name a man whose outfit has for several years been growing plainer.

Three different influences brought the Khaki Shirts to Washington. The most powerful was the Administration's policy for the last three years. By deliberately ignoring, from 1929 until four months ago, that unemployment and business depression existed in this country, the President and his Cabinet opened the way for futile and amateurish attempts to reach an otherwise undealt-with situation. The B. E. F. came to Washington because they were broke. When Hoover was mopping them up, he said government could not be carried on by mob rule. Neither can it be carried on by no rule at all. The President had ignored a cancer until it became a wound; he then made panicky haste to operate. The small but bleeding cut achieved the name of a crisis by its very superficiality; the slow degeneration of organic tissue has been accompanied only by bulletins of health around the corner. Yet it was what caused the growth of the B. E. F.

If the form of the B. E. F. strategy in its Washington manifestation came from the martial spirit, the stuff of which the Khaki Shirt is made is essentially civilian and industrial. It is not by chance that the name of the organization of big business men which has for some months been quietly proceeding in this country is "The Defenders of America." Ever since the Minute Men of 1918 raised Liberty Loans and routed Reds, Americanism, a bloc of the Right, infinitely more numerous and more solid than the left-wing flights of Communist agents, has been in the making. Those were the big men. Now the little men, whose ideology is the same as theirs, but whose resources can only be collectively effective, have made the surprising if simple discovery that defense of America differs very little from self-defense.

A new position has been established. The history of the nineteenth century accustomed us to think of revolution as coming from the Left. That was a partial truth. Since the war revolution has come from the Right in Italy. It is in the process of coming from the Right in Germany. The cartoonist of the B. E. F. paper who caricatured Hoover as a Prussian officer with



the Capitol for a helmet should have drawn Waters with the *akenkreuz* banner of Hitler to complete the parallel. One hundred per cent Teutonism in Hitler's case, 100 per cent Americanism in Waters'. Wrapped in the aura of patriotism, the Right revolutionary stands on unique ground. His Khaki garment is either the clandestine night-shirt of the Ku Klux Klan, nor the bloody shirt of the ostracized Red. He stands for force, but force or the Right.

The B. E. F.'s march on Washington was a march of little men. For this reason their power, like the initial power of Hitler's storm troops in Germany, is unimportant. Hitler, however, has with time gained the support of a group of big industrialists. Unless such a combination has been effected, there is little to prevent march on Rome.

Fairfax, Va.

HELEN HILL

## Cincinnati Readers Please Note

WILL those people in Cincinnati and vicinity who are interested in the candidacy of Norman Thomas for President please get in touch with Mary D. Brite, 845 Dayton St., Cincinnati, (Telephone, West 0983-W) either by mail or telephone with view toward organizing a non-Socialist committee to aid in his election?

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SAID I, over the telephone, in my carefully rehearsed impressiveness, "Maybe you remember me. I used to work for you before you ever thought of turning into a weekly. Recall how I gave you that ineffable *je ne sais quoi*, enhanced your repute for *sang froid*, lifted you up every month with renewed *esprit de corps*, restored your *amour propre* when you came an editorial cropper, made myself continually *au fait*, interpreted the *Zeitgeist* whenever we had a *tête-à-tête*, soothed you in your times of *Sturm und Drang*, and even though a bit of a *poseur*, proved again and again my *raison d'être*—especially when it came to writing the English language?

"No? That's funny. . . . But listen. Maybe I could do it again. What do you say?"

"Nat's bobuddy I know," came a whispered feminine voice. Then, louder, "Whanummryawant?" "Isn't this," I asked, drawing myself up with the block and tackle I always carry for that purpose, "THE WORLD TOMORROW?"

"Nat's what I thought," sighed the voice. "Wrong nummer. Whuzzerworlamorrrar? Nat's nat maggerzine, isnit?" "Nat's right," said I. "Do you know it? I used to read one of its departments regularly."

"Nat's too bad," sympathized the voice, absently. "Try 'em again." "Nat's bad advice," I responded, "and nat's nat."

Whereupon I hung up, and made a personal call upon the editors. They said I could come back—with reservations. No more use of the old autocratic sign on my door, with its stentorian letters, KEEP OFF THE GRASS. No more ragging of the editors behind their backs; one of them read this department once, it seems, and got the shock of his life. The light is to be snapped off when I go out on mid-winter afternoons for my two-hourly wienerwurst and chocolate malteds. There must be an end (the worst thing about them, I have often said with delicate regret) to those elaborate lunches in the office; no smears of sauerkraut on the mailing desk; no least scent of limberger in the mouthpiece of the phone. "If you aren't careful," I expostulated, "I'll turn gentleman on you, and where will you be then?" "In clover!" they cried, wholeheartedly, with that rudeness which readers so often complain of in their writing. . . .



THE olden chair felt good. One of the three broken legs had been mended since my departure long ago; I found still there the old back-piece I had glued in with my own hands in the dim days of 1922. The chair had shrunk, somehow, clinging to me with an affection I had scarcely contemplated. Well, chairs grow old. . . . I meditated. It was a time of dedication. Al Smith is right. We have to keep the faith. "I don't read books," said Al, upon taking editorial charge of *The New Outlook*, "I don't want to reverse my position now just because I'm an editor." Well, no more do I now I am again a writer. I have devoutly believed in plain speech; nor am I going to change now, I promise, and depart from simple English. *Au revoir!*

*Eccentricus* ■

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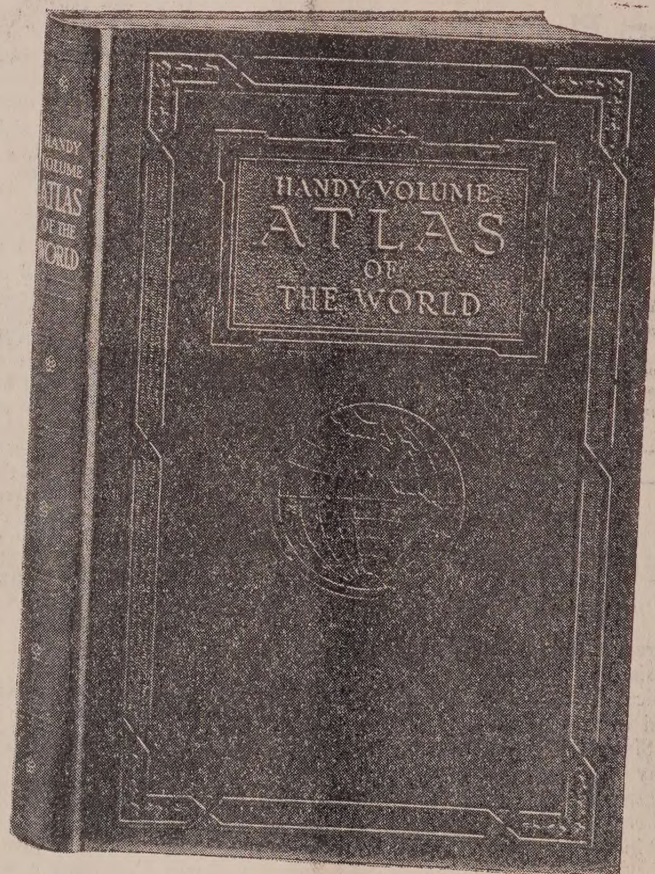
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